1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Malayāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations. Richter applauds the change:

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed baskets to the fields.

The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms. Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love.

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannadigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action.

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula.

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men.

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'.

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *sīmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *sīmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village-assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present.

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins.

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning.

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 302 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 182 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 [343] The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject [533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom [585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[777] [1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India. Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

1:Srinivas-E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [556] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The 'cross-nephew' stands for the solidarity of a man with his sister.

Close relatives of the dead person bring gifts of white cloths (*muri*). These cloths are carried by women and are received by a woman member of the mourning *okka* who keeps them folded behind the corpse's head. They are used for certain purposes at various points in the mourning ritual: for instance, the mourners of the first and second orders use them for the mourning uniform of waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth; they are used to cover the corpse while it is lying in the house; if it is decided to cremate the corpse, it is stripped of the white gown and then the body is covered with white cloths; and, finally, some cloths are given in charity to beggars and servants of the Coorg *okka*.

Relatives who bring gifts of cloth are usually accompanied by their band consisting of horn, pipe, and drum. They also bring a rifle with them. As they near the lane leading to the mourning *okka*, all the relatives junior to the dead person dress themselves in a waist-colth and shoulder-cloth. In addition, the women mourners unplait their hair and allow it to fall loosely over the back and shoulders. They keep the gift-cloths on their heads and they perform certain stylized movements with their hands which are suggestive of the beating of breasts and head, a common symbol of mourning all over India. As they come up the lane leading to the mourning house, a member of the party fires double shots. The band, rifle, and gifts of cloth are collectively referred to as *kellaṭi*. Relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* gifts at marriage are required to bring *kellaṭi* at death. The obligations of kinship require the bringing of such gifts at marriage and death, and such obligations are usually mutual between groups of kindred. In addition, the bringers of these gifts are honoured according to the traditional ritual idiom and given small gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. These gifts are not equivalent in economic value to the gifts brought, but still they embody the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity does not mean equivalence of return on every occasion: equivalence is usually achieved over a long period of time.

While other relatives bring white cloths, the dead person's 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' has to bring a gift of a red silk cloth (*kendanolli*). Red silk is more sacred than cotton, and the bringers of gifts of red silk are more important than those who bring cotton cloths. The 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' is required to bring

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

several years ago, in some villages near Mercara, Coorgs successfully opposed the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to Māri on the ground that buffaloes were the same as cows and the slaughter of cows (and oxen) should not be allowed under any circumstances. It is interesting to note that elsewhere in south India a similar reverence for cattle did not prevent the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to village-deities. Very recently, however, the local leaders of the Indian National Congress have been everywhere more or less successfully opposing the propitiation of village-deities with blood-offerings.

The most common village-deities in Coorg are Bhagavati (Povvedi) and Ayyappa (or Shasta). The former is male and the latter female. Several other deities such as Chaunḍi or Chāmunḍi (f.), Kāḷi, (f.), and Kētrappa (or Kshētrapāla (m.)) are also occasionally found as village-deities.

All the above deities are also commonly found in Malabar and South Canara. The traditional songs which are sung in Coorg at the festivals of village-deities make the latter out to be immigrants from Malabar or South Canara.[1] In these folksongs an important deity coming from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg usually brings with him a few minor deities who meet him on the way and beg of him to find them shelter in Coorg. Sometimes deities who come from Malabar go round to the established temples in Coorg such as the source of the river Kāvēri, and Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) temple in Makki, the Subramaṇya temple at Pāḍi, &c., and beg one of these latter deities for shelter.

The song sung at the festival of Kētrappa tells the story of the coming of Kētrappa into Bēngūr from Malabar: a party of Bēngūr youths led by Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa go in a caravan to Māḍāyi in Malabar, and the leader is possessed by the deity Kētrappa while returning to Coorg after selling the rice carried by the caravan. The song tells us that a number of deities, viz. Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa, Povvedi (or Bhagavati), Chaunḍi, and Pūda request Kētrappa (represented by his oracle Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa) to grant them shelter. Kētrappa promises them shelter and settles them in Bēngūr and surrounding places such as Ivattu-okkalu, Heravanāḍ, and the Kopaṭṭi Hills.

It is obvious that these folksongs cannot be treated as accurate

[1] Frequently the songs tell us that a group of deities set out from the mythical Milk Sea. It is interesting to note that in such cases they reach some town on the Malabar Coast first and then proceed to Coorg.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

historical records. Contradictions occur quite frequently in them. And it is also clear that they are Coorg attempts at 'explaining' the fact of the existence of a number of deities in the villages with which they deal. These various deities and their festivals are brought into relation with each other, and one of the deities made out to be the leader of the rest. In another song this leadership might be claimed for a different deity in a different village.

It is clear from these songs that not only do Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara share certain common cultural and ritual forms, but that some of these have come from Malabar and South Canara into Coorg. The fact that Tuḷu-speaking Brahmins from South Canara are priests at very many temples in Coorg, and that Coorgs had (and have) considerable respect for them, helped the spread of Tuḷu and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. Similarly, the Kaṇiya (astrologer) and Baṇṇa and Paṇika were responsible for the spread of Malayāḷam and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. This does not mean that Malayāḷam and Tuḷu areas do not have some cultural forms in common. Nor does it mean that the cultural and ritual forms found among Coorgs should always, or even in the majority of cases, be attributed to diffusion from without.

Formerly, Coorgs used to go to Malabar to learn medicine and magic, and such Coorgs, on their return, seem to have exercised considerable influence and power over their countrymen. The ancestor of the Ajjikuṭṭira *okka*, Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), and Chendappanḍa Kungu are all reputed to have learnt magic and medicine in Malabar, and after their death they became culture-heroes. It should be remembered in this connexion that formerly a few Coorgs from every village in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their rice in exchange for goods which they wanted. These trade expeditions also resulted in the spread of cultural forms from one area to another.

A deity is commonly known by reference to the village in which he has a shrine. For instance, Pannangālatammé is the 'Mother of the village Pannangāla', Pālūrappa is the 'Father of the village Pālūr', Tumbémalédēra is the 'Lord of the Tumbé hill', and so on. Even where a deity is referred to by his or her name, a prefix is usually added stating to which village the particular deity belongs: for instance, Povvedi of Ballatnāḍ is usually referred to as Ballatnāḍ Povvedi, Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda is referred to as Kundat Bhadrakāḷi,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

epidemic or other disaster. Brahmins make only offerings of fruits 793
and flowers even when propitiating such a deity.[1] (4) Deities pro- 796
pitiated by one or other of the lowest castes who are rarely propitiated by the upper castes. Such a deity is identified with the caste habitually propitiating him (or her).

Every temple has a headman called *dēva takka*, belonging to one of the high castes, who generally looks after the temple and its property. The *okkas* belonging to the high castes annually pay him a contribution in paddy and cash towards the maintenance of the temple. He, together with the village headman, organizes the elaborate festival of the deity. He has also certain ritual duties at the festival, which vary from village to village. His relation with the village headman too varies from village to village.

Formerly every important temple in a village seems to have had 794
three permanent officials, Mukkāṭi, Neravanḍa, and Chengōla. Of these three the last two are defunct today, and only the first-mentioned Mukkāṭi still continues to exist. These offices were hereditary in certain *okkas* and these *okkas* generally belonged to a high caste like Coorg, Gauḍa, smith, and cowherd. The Chengōla looked after the accounts, and the Mukkāṭi swept the temple and lit the lamps, but we do not know what the duties of the Neravanḍa were. Mukkāṭi and Neravanḍa occur occasionally as surnames of certain Coorg *okkas*.

Every temple has pipers and drummers. These may belong to a [533] ●
high caste like Mārāyas, or a low caste like Mēḍas or Poleyas.

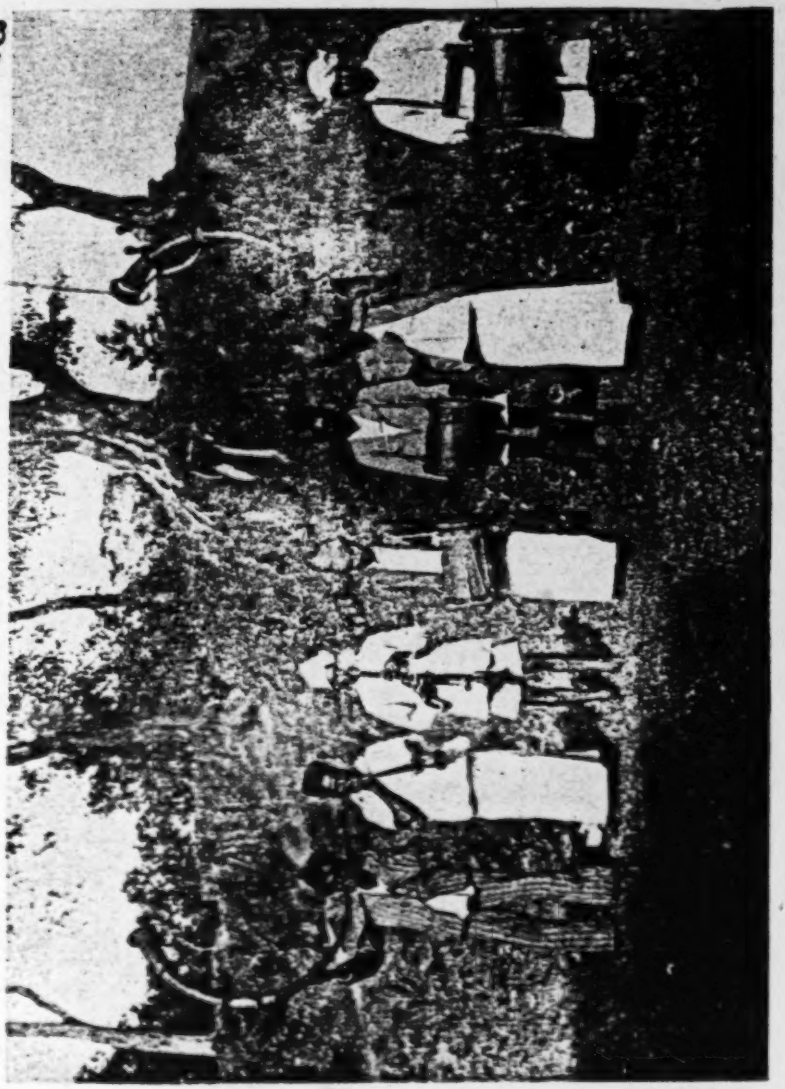
In addition to the above, every temple of a village-deity has a 793
number of *kāvukāras* or festival-priests who are active only during 796
the periodical festival. All the high-caste[2] *okkas* in a village are usually festival-priests at the festival of their village-deity. This priesthood, like other offices, is attached to the *okka* and not to the individual members thereof. Both the men and the women of the priestly *okkas* have duties and roles at the festival. The men have such tasks as carrying the idol of the deity, bathing it, and holding

[1] It is possible, however, that in exceptional circumstances a Brahmin might make an offering of a fowl through a non-Brahmin friend. He might also take a wife, sister, or daughter, possessed by a ghost, to a non-Sanskritic temple for cure.

[2] As far as I know the Brahmin is nowhere festival-priest. He is either priest at the temple or performs only purificatory rites during the festival. In the latter case, there is another temple dedicated to a Sanskritic deity, where he performs all the priestly duties every day.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

533
291



MĒDAS AND POLEYAS PROVIDE MUSIC FOR COORG DANCERS

[Facing p. 192]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song', which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting of paddy-sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍināḷknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍukku maṇḍe ille, koḍavēkku ca:ce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some ● 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's [342] party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [778] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered [585] in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

---

614 764 178 [1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement.

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇiĕ), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies.

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow.

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles'

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585

[515] [602] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

[515] [602] [292] [301] [292] [342] [778] [178] [533] [614] [782]

---

[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

[605] [834]

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
[405] together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
[354] ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors. On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
431 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations
[576] including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken
[589] care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[777] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of pansupari are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her pattakku or necklace, and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand and leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed to a bullock cart If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, "Has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice, and as a typical pledge of possession, like the 'katti jamma fee' on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 796 627 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice [415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the [534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It [535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of [533] the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous [526] sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and [721] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are [782] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then [526] proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the [533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AWS Coorg AWS

and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment.

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs.

(4) Devasthans

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs.

Bibliography

1. Ananthakrishna Iyer, L. K.: "Mysore Tribes and Castes". "Notes on Coorgs."
2. Richter: "Ethnographic Compendium".
3. Rice, Lewis: 'Imperial Gazetteer of India, Mysore and Coorg", 1908.
4. Thurston, Edgar: "Ethnographic Notes in Southern India".

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol the names of the principal persons among the assembled relatives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song translated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Nádu are 85;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Apparandra.

In this Apparandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
When he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly Jummu land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

an armful of rice in the neighbourhood and distributes two or three stalks to every one present. Some stalks are put into the milk-vessel. No one must touch the sheaf-cutter. All return to the threshing floor shouting as they walk on: "Poly, poly, Déval" (increase, O God!) A bundle of leaves is adorned with a stalk of rice, and fastened to the post in the centre of the threshing floor. The company proceeds to the door of the house, where the mistress meets them, washes the feet of the sheaf-cutter, and presents to him, and after him to all the rest, a brass-vessel, filled with milk, honey and sugar, from which each takes a draught. They move into the kitchen. The Huttari mat is spread, the brass dish, the rice sheaf, and the basket with leaf scrolls, each with a stalk of rice, are placed on it. The young man distributes the bundles to the members of the family, who disperse to bind them to every thing in house and garden, doors, stools, roof, trees, etc. In the mean time he sits down to knead the Huttari dough of rice meal, plantains, milk and honey, seven new rice corns, seven pieces of cocoanut, seven small pebbles, seven pieces of dry ginger, seven cardamom seeds, and seven corns of sesamum are added. Every one receives a little of this dough upon an Ashvatha leaf, and eats it. The ceremony is over, and the sheaf-cutter mixes with the company. Supper follows, consisting of sugared rice and sweet potatoes, into which a handful of new rice is thrown, and of a substantial common repast of rice and curry. The Huttari chants follow now at every house during the night.

But the Coorgs have not yet done altogether, with their pleasant festival. Four after-Huttari-days are added to the holy week. On the eighth day the Urukólu, the village-stick-dance, collects the whole community. The women of two or three houses repair together to the Urumandu, a pair leading and a second pair following, all four beating cymbals and chanting ancient songs or impromptu verses. When

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

193 As in Canarese *adverbs* are in Kodagu formed of nouns by adding the affixes áyitā, áyi (Can. ági), e. g. chamáyi (Can. samavági) according to.

The most common adverbs of time and place are the following:—

yakkā	when,	ikkā	now,	akkā	then.
yendā	which day,	indā	this day,	andā	that day.
yelli	where,	illi	here,	alli	there.

By the usual affixes these adverbs undergo like nouns of the neuter gender a kind of declension, in which the instr. case indicates motion from and the dative motion to a place; e. g.

Instr.	yellinji	whence,	illinji	hence,	allinji	thence.
Dat.	yellikkā	whither,	illikkā	hither,	allikkā	thither.

Most of the adverbs, however, do not admit of declension.

To advert in a few lines to the Kodagu syntax, it may be remarked, that it is quite in harmony with that of the Dravida languages. A Kodagu or Canarese compound sentence, though it presents a complete reversion of our European structure of sentences, is to the accustomed ear as perfect and harmonious as a Greek period, which is perhaps equally involved by participial constructions. The principal verb (verbum finitum) invariably is placed last in the sentence and as a general rule every complement to the subject, object and predicate, whether expressed by a word, a phrase or a clause, precedes the word complemented.

538 533 *Literature.* Strictly speaking there is no literature in the Kodagu language, as a few indigenous songs of a very limited range of subjects comprise the whole catalogue. These songs are known in every Coorg house, and, commemorating as they do the chief events of social life, marriage, death, and festivities, and the warfare with the Musulman power in Mysore, they are likely to continue to be popular.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Nâds or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Râjendranâme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mâdeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chókandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

533 [191] Coorg measure may be best compared to that of English or German blank verse. Songs somewhat resembling those of the Coorgs are also found among the Badagas on the Nílagiris.

191 533 539 The following lines, taken from the beginning of almost every Coorg song, may give an idea of the construction of the Kodagu language and its resemblance to Canarese, in which language, as well as in English, a literal translation is given:—

1.	*Kodagu.*	Nóṭi nóṭi kámbakkō
2.	*Canarese.*	Nódi nódi kánuvága
3.	*English.*	Having seen, having seen, when one looks
1.	*Kg.*	Bümikelloyandadū
2.	*Can.*	Bhúmige yella unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the earth all high
1.	*Kg.*	Mahammēru parvata
2.	*Can.*	Mahammēru parvata
3.	*Engl.*	Mahamēru mountain
1.	*Kg.*	Pū marakkoyandadū
2.	*Can.*	Húvu maragaḷige unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the flower-trees high
1.	*Kg.*	Mánjappoya pümara
2.	*Can.*	Mahá sampigae húvu mara
3.	*Engl.*	The great Sampige flower-tree
1.	*Kg.*	Dējakelloyandadū
2.	*Can.*	Dēshagaḷige, yella, unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the countries all high
1.	*Kg.*	Ponnāle Koḍavāpa
2.	*Can.*	Honnu mále Koḍagu águttade
3.	*Engl.*	Gold necklace Coorg is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

539

Riding forth the world to conquer,
The commander of her armies
Vanquished all her enemies;
Sitting on the throne of judgment
Executed right and justice.
As you shoot the ruddy amber,
So he slew his adversaries.
When the great and valiant hero
Had destroyed the royal tiger, *
All the folks lived free and happy.
Fearless all the nations dwell
Near and far in the dominions
Of our gracious Queen and Ruler.
Long live our noble Queen
By the grace of God Almighty
To protect this happy Coorg-land!

The chanting of these songs is very simple and varies 533 ● only within a range of 3 notes which are intoned with a 534 slow tremulous and rather melancholy utterance, especially when accompanied by the rude native instruments, the monotony of which, however exciting to a crowd, is grievous to a musical ear. The Coorg instruments are: the *Pare* and *Kudikepare*, a large and small wooden drum, the *Dudi*, a metal drum, the *Kombu* or brass horn and the *Tála* or cymbal.

It may be expected, that the Coorgs, who are a shrewd 538 and good-humoured people indulge also in racy proverbs, with 521 which they spice their conversations during their idle hours, or when convened in solemn meetings in the Ambala of the village-green. The following are a few specimens:— 539

1. Paṭṭama paḍekága, pireke karikága
Beppeneke bechaka pireke karikáku
Poppaneke pottaka paṭṭama paḍekáku.

Brahmins are worthless for fighting, the pirike fruit (Colocynth) useless for curry, but if the pirike is properly dressed, it may be

* Tippu Sultan.